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Message Text

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43
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-06 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-07 CIAE-00 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-07 NRC-05 OES-06 FEAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 SS-15 PRS-01 EA-07 NEA-10 OIC-02 /119 W
---------- 053760
O 291735Z SEP 76
FM AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4221
INFO USERDA HQ WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USERDA HQ GERMANTOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
USMISSION IAEA VIENNA
USMISSION USUN NY
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L RIO DE JANEIRO 3691

STATE PASS IO/SCT

FROM USDEL IAEA

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: AORG, OCON, IAEA, SF
SUBJ: SOUTH AFRICAN SOLUTION AT IAEA GENERAL CONFERENCE: HOW IT HAPPENED

REF: RIO DE JANEIRO 3670 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: ACCEPTANCE BY GC OF "PACKAGE" WHICH RESOLVED WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN HIGHLY DIVISIVE AND POLITICALLY DISASTROUS ISSUE CONFIDENTIAL

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RESULTED FROM INTENSIVE AND, DURING FINAL 24 HOURS, PRACTICALLY

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CONTINUOUS CONSULTATIONS WITHIN AND AMONG OPPOSING GROUPS INVOLVING SECRETARIAT AND CONFERENCE PRESIDENT AS WELL. IN THE END, MODERATION AND STATESMANSHIP BROUGHT ABOUT SOLUTION WHICH SATISFIED MOST ESSENTIAL NEEDS OF THOSE CONCERNED. END SUMMARY

1. INFORMAL DISCUSSION BETWEEN GROUPS OPPOSED TO AND IN FAVOR OF ACCEPTANCE OF SAG CREDENTIALS (CHIEFLY IN PERSONS OF BEESLEY OF CANADA AND ABENDIJI OF NIGERIA), COMMENDED ON MONDAY 9/27 AFTER CIRCULATION BY NIGERIA OF DRAFT TEXT OF RESOLUTION, WITH EXTREMIST PHRASEOLOGY, CALLING FOR BOARD TO EXAMINE CONDITIONS OF CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP BY SAG IN AGENCY. AS THESE TALKS EVOLVED, BEESLEY REPORTED TO MEETING OF EXPANDED WEO GROUP (INCLUDING US) THAT WHILE AFRICAN GROUP MIGHT BE WILLING TO TONE DOWN TEXT OF RESOLUTION, IT WAS ADAMANT THAT INCONCLUSIVE REPORT OF GENERAL COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS BE ALTERED TO SHOW THAT A MAJORITY OF MEMBERS HAD REJECTED SAG CREDENTIALS; THAT IN WORDS OF ABENDIJI, AFRICAN GROUP "NEEDED SOMETHING" TO BRING HOME TO OAU AND THAT NEGATIVE REPORT OF GENERAL COMMITTEE WAS ESSENTIAL TO THIS PURPOSE.

2. EXPANDED WEO GROUP (UK, US, CANADA, NETHERLANDS, SWITZERLAND, AUSTRIA, IRELAND, FINLAND, FRANCE, BELGIUM, FRG, SWEDEN, DENMARK, NORWAY, ITALY, AUSTRALIA, JAPAN), WHILE CLEARLY UNHAPPY WITH EVEN AN "IMPROVED" NIGERIAN RESOLUTION, WAS VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS IN OPPOSITION TO ANY CHANGE IN GENERAL COMMITTEE REPORT (GC(XX)/575) WHICH WOULD DISTORT FACTS ALONG LINES DEMANDED BY AFRICANS. GROUP AGREED 9/27 TO CONTINUE INFORMAL CONTACTS WITH NIGERIANS, TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS WITH CONFERENCE PRESIDENT AND DG, AND TO TAKE SOUNDINGS AMONG LA DELEGATES AS WELL AS WITH SOVIETS (ACQUIESCENCE OF LATTER WAS, OF COURSE, ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESS OF ANY SOLUTION PROPOSED).

3. THESE CONSULTATIONS EVENING OF 9/27 AND FOLLOWING MORNING DISCLOSED FOLLOWING: (A) AFRICAN GROUP WAS DEAD SET ON RESOLUTION LANGUAGE, HOWEVER IRRELEVANT TO IAEA STATUTE, REJECTING SAG BOARD MEMBERSHIP AS "A REPRESENTATIVE OF AFRICA" AND INSISTED ON CONFERENCE GOING ON RECORD IN CONDEMNATION OF RACIST POLICIES OF SAG; AT SAME TIME, ACCORDING TO ABENDIJI, GROUP DID NOT WISH TO APPEAR IRRESPONSIBLE OR DISRUPTIVE. (COMMENT: AFRICAN GROUP MAY ALSO HAVE FEARED THAT WHILE IT MAY HAVE WON ON

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PLENARY VOTE ON SAG CREDENTIALS ISSUE, MARGIN OF VICTORY MIGHT HAVE BEEN EMBARRASSINGLY NARROW), (B) A NUMBER OF LA DELEGATES (E.G., ARGENTINA, VENEZUELA, URUGUAY, CHILE) FLATLY OPPOSED CHALLENGE TO SAG CREDENTIALS, (C) SOVIETS, WHILE BOUND TO SUPPORT AFRICANS AS MATTER OF POLICY, OPPOSED ANY ALTERATION IN TEXT OF GENERAL COMMITTEE REPORT, AS APPROVED BY THEM PRIOR TO PUBLICATION.

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4. WITH COOPERATION OF CONFERENCE PRESIDENT (CARVALHO) AND KEY MEMBERS OF SECRETARIAT, CONSIDERATION BY PLENARY OF GENERAL COMMITTEE REPORT WAS POSTPONED ONE DAY AND IN THIS TIME SOLUTION WAS WORKED OUT AS DESCRIBED REFTEL. ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS WERE AS FOLLOWS: (A) GENERAL COMMITTEE REPORT WAS ACCEPTED AS PUBLISHED WITH NO RPT NO CHANGES AND NO RPT NO DEBATE, WITH INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EXPRESSING AGREEMENT OF GC WITH MAJORITY OF GENERAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS THAT REPORT CONSTITUTED "SERIOUS CENSURE" OF APARTHEID POLICY OF SAG/ (B) PLENARY ADOPTED WITHOUT DEBATE NIGERIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION, SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED TO SIMPLY REQUEST BOARD TO "REVIEW" DESIGNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA TO BOARD MEMBERSHIP. BY PREARRANGEMENT AMONG ALL PARTIES CONCERNED, PRESIDENT NOTED THAT WHILE SOME DELEGATES HAVE RESERVATIONS REGARDING TEXT OF RESOLUTION (GCXX576), HIS CONSULTATIONS INDICATED NO RPT NO NEED OF VOTE.

5. AS FINAL PART OF "PACKAGE" (AND AS REPORTED SEPTEL) AFRICAN GOVERNORS AT FIRST MEETING OF NEW BOARD 9-28, FULFILLED INFORMAL PLEDGE TO BEESLEY THAT THEY WOULD NOT RPT NOT RAISE CREDENTIALS ISSUE IN THAT MEETING.

6. THIS ISSUE WAS HANDLED WITH CONSIDERABLE DELICACY AND, WE BELIEVE, REFLECTED IN THE END PRUDENCE ON PART OF VARIOUS PARTICIPANTS. THERE WAS NO VOTE--WHICH ALL WISHED TO AVOID--NOR WAS THERE AN ATTEMPT AT A DEBATE REFLECTING A CLEAR CONSENSUS AGAINST SAG--WHICH EXPANDED WEO GROUP, AS WELL AS SOUTH AFRICA, WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT. GENERAL FEELING OF THIS GROUP, IN WHICH WE CONCUR, IS THAT SOLUTIONS WAS BEST ONE THAT COULD HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, BEARING IN MIND THAT ELEMENTS HOSTILE TO SAG COULD HAVE RAMMED THROUGH PLENARY A FAR HARSHER MEASURE. SOLUTIONS REACHED GAIN TIME FOR SAG WHICH, IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS IN RHODESIA, MAY PROVE TO BE EXTREMELY VALUABLE.
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7. FOR PRETORIA: COOPERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNOR, KURT VON SCHIRNDING, WAS VITAL TO SUCCESS OF FINAL OUTCOME. UNDER GREAT PRESSURE, AND IN INTERESTS OF REACHING SUCCESSFUL SOLUTION, HE PRUDENTLY MAINTAINED A DISCRETE PUBLIC SILENCE FULLY AWARE THAT TO DO OTHERWISE COULD WRECK ATTEMPTS AT REACHING A SOLUTION AND THEREBY JEOPARDIZE THE POSITION OF SAG IN THE AGENCY. WE STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY EMBASSY CONVEY TO SAG HIGH ESTEEM OF USG FOR VON SCHIRNDING'S FORTITUDE AND STATESMANSHIP.
DEXTER

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Disposition Remarks:
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